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Jivaro

".... the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsángu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. nateína, Qu. aya huaśca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huan̄tuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians."

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Jivaro-1

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

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Jivaro-2

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani.¹⁰

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Jivaro-1

"The second day of the feast is assigned for the ceremony which is called 'the drinking of the chiki medicine' (chiki umártinyu). Chiki is the root of a plant with the same name, specially cultivated by the Jibaros, to which magical properties are ascribed. Early in the morning three clay dishes (piningas) are placed in a row on the floor, one for the bride, another for her sister, and a third for another female relative of the bride. At the most important ceremonies taking place on this and the following days of the feast these three women appear together, and they are assisted by the priestess (whuéa). A cooking pot is half-filled with water, placed on the fire by the bride whose hands, as usual, are held by the priestess. Into this pot the following things are placed, in the same ceremonial way, by the women: 1) a small piece of manioc; 2) a small piece of camote or sweet potato; 3) a piece of the chiki root; and 4) two tobacco leaves. The water in the pot is not allowed to boil, but is only warmed. When it is luke-warm the tobacco leaves are taken out and the liquid is poured into the three piningas by the bride whose hands are held by the priestess. The latter thereupon passes one of the piningas to the bride, who drinks up its whole contents and immediately runs outside to throw it up; the chiki medicine, it should be understood, has the effect of a vomitory which is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman and favourably prepare her for the dreams. Thereupon the priestess in the same way allows the second and the third woman to empty the contents of their piningas, and they likewise

at once go outside to throw it up. The women are now considered to be properly prepared for the taking of the tobacco medicine itself, which is called savinpa. During this and the following day, or until the feast is ended, both the bride and the other two women have to fast more strictly than before, their only food being a little boiled and mashed manioc. When they eat they take care not to touch the food with their fingers, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

After the drinking of chiki is finished, the guests are entertained with manioc-beer. A great number of pinigas are placed in two parallel rows and filled with manioc-beer prepared from the roasted manioc roots and offered to the guests by the women. With this drinking-bout the morning's ceremonies are finished. [198]

Early in the evening the priestess prepares the tobacco medicine called savinpa. From a bundle of tobacco which has been kept in a special place in the house she takes some leaves, chews them carefully, mixing the chewed mass well with saliva, and lastly spits it out into a small clay pot (natt'pya), specially made for the purpose. When she has obtained a sufficient quantity of this strong medicine, which is thick like syrup, she covers the clay pot with a cover made of clay, which at the same time serves as a cup from which the women have to take the medicine reached them by the priestess. The small clay pot, with its cover, is first placed in a basket (changina) which is hung up at one of the pillars of the house until the tobacco medicine is needed.

Late in the evening the bride and the two other women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outside in the neighbourhood of the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pass the night, each woman in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there and gives them the savinya medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong medicine, taken on an empty stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams to which the Jibaros ascribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', Nungüli herself and the other spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They will see the swine and the hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by flourishing plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will be produced more easily when they sleep alone in the plantations. Early in the morning the old woman goes to the shelters to look after the women and again gives them tobacco juice, whereupon all return to the house.

Now the ceremonies of the third day begin, which essentially consist in the women receiving savinya in repeated doses and songs being sung to the Earth-mother. The bride sits down on a seat opposite the priestess, the two other women taking seats beside the former. The hair of the bride is tied up by her fiancé by means of a band, and her head and shoulders are wet with water 'because earlier, in the plantation, she had been vomiting'. The priestess now gives her juice of tobacco and similarly portions of it to the two other women. Thereupon the songs to the Earth-mother Nungüli

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begin, which are led by the priestess, sometimes assisted by another old woman. These songs are continued, with small intervals, for several hours, being led by the priestess who first recites them without singing, so that the younger women may learn them, whereupon all women sing them. Between [199] the songs the three women repeatedly receive juice of tobacco from the hand of the old woman. Sometimes she even rubs their fingers with the juice and blows upon them; then the songs are again continued.

The songs sung are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaëma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees

"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

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and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaema, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,
send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungli, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
'multiply my crop of manioc,

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See infra, p. 351)."

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multiply my crop of camote,
multiply my crop of earth-nuts!" etc. [200]

These are the main themes of the incantations, somewhat varied in different songs, but always essentially the same. Similarly the melodies to which they are sung are the same as those mentioned before. The incantations are chiefly interrupted for the sake of giving the women repeated savinya doses. The women are not allowed to take anything but this medicine during the whole day; thus, it is believed, they will be favourably prepared for the dreams in the following night. In the evening the priestess, as usual, takes the three women to the shelters in the fields outside the house, whither they are accompanied by other men and women. The priestess, before she leaves them, again gives them tobacco juice. The women now sleep in the shelter till about 3 o'clock in the morning, when the priestess again takes them to the house. At this hour the important ceremony occurs which is called 'the slaughter of the swine' (cuchi matinyu), and which forms part of all great feasts. The ceremonial slaughter of the swine will be described in detail in connection with the great victory feast.

Until the slaughter of the swine takes place the night has been spent in dancing the dances Wuimchi and Ihiámbrama, just as in the night before."

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Jivaro-1

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungli and her 'husband', as above (p.135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,

'To Nungli, the woman,

arúta núnganuma,

the Old One who lives in the earth,

Nungui noachina

to Nungli, the woman, (we pray):

Mamankutú yamáma,

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our manioc plantation is still young,
 inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
 nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young,
 nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
 yurúnga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
 Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
 Ukúnychmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
 Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops': [202]

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Jivaro-3

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,
Yeita masanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyuka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!

May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!"

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!' (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on

her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of piningas, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at

the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other

women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking

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of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

"After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other women."

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

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relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilities [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

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Jivaro-1

"When the first signs of puberty appear, an important epoch in the life of the Jibaro girl begins. As among all Indians, menstruation is looked upon by the Jibaros as a mysterious process, and when it appears for the first time in a girl various precautions are considered necessary. I have mentioned before that the Indians ascribe menstruation to the moon (nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her'), which is also believed to have a mysterious influence upon conception. The first menstruation is called numbuén (from numba, 'blood') and generally appears when the girl is about 8 to 10 years old. When the mother realises what is the matter with the girl she at once takes her down to the river, where she washes her with a big leaf called yambáki. She has now to submit to certain taboos for four days. She is not allowed to pass the nights in the house, but sleeps in a small shelter specially made for her in the plantation in the neighbourhood, whither she is accompanied in the evening by the other women. While in the shelter, she can eat or drink nothing except tobacco water, which is given her in repeated doses by an old woman. The girl, however, is not obliged to stay there during the day. As soon as the sun rises she can leave the shelter and return to the house where she spends the day, but she is obliged to diet strictly. At the same time a small drinking-feast is arranged. Several piningas with manioc-beer are placed in a row; among these there is a small one containing only the 'cream' of the beer and a piece of manioc. This pininga is for the tsángrama, as the girl is called. She is allowed to eat nothing during the four

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days except this small quantity of manioc, and she is considered so taboo that she can touch no objects in the house with her hands. In the evening, as usual, she has to go to the shelter where she again receives tobacco water from the hands of the old woman, and so on. The tobacco medicine is supposed to fill her with power and to protect her against evil spirits who are attacking her, but it is also calculated to produce dreams for her, since the Numbuén, feast has reference at the same time to the girl's future obligations as a housewife."

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Jivaro

"Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects. "

"The principal ceremonies [JKM: of the Kusúpani] are performed on the second and third days, and they mainly consist in giving the novice tobacco in different forms and in repeated doses; the old man who acts as a priest (whuéa) makes him take tobacco juice, and he must inhale tobacco smoke. The priest has made a number of big cigars and attached them to a string at regular intervals from one another, the string hanging from one of the central poles of the house. Every time that he wishes to give the novice tobacco he takes one of the cigars from the string, puts it into a long tube of bamboo, and lights it, using the tube as a mouth-piece. He first draws the smoke into his own mouth and then blows it directly into the mouth of the novice, who has to swallow the smoke and is nearly suffocated. This is repeated several times until the whole cigar is consumed. Immediately after this the priest gives the novice tobacco in liquid form. For this purpose he chews the leaves carefully, spits them out, together with much saliva, into a maize leaf, blows some more tobacco smoke on it, and stirs the whole mass carefully with his finger, whereupon he gives it to the novice to drink. This ceremony is repeated six to eight times on each of the two days of the feast proper, and the strong tobacco medicine cannot of course fail to produce very powerful effects on the youth who receives them on an empty stomach. In the narcotic sleep which [240] will follow, [sic] and in the visions provoked by the drinking of maikoa, with which the feast will end, the novice will see both the arútama and other spirits, who give him advice and

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information concerning his future.

Among some Jibaro tribes the old man, when blowing smoke, does not use any bamboo tube; he places the burning end of the cigar in his own mouth and the opposite end in the mouth of the novice, blowing vigorously, and the novice has to swallow the smoke."

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Jivaro-1

"Among the Achuares of the Pastaza the initiation into manhood consists only in drinking maikoa. When the boys attain the age of puberty, which means that they are received among the men and warriors, are allowed to marry, and so on, the following drinking-ceremony takes place. The oldest men of the family or tribe arrange themselves in two parallel rows facing each other. Each man holds a piniga containing a small quantity of maikoa. The novice must now go from the one to the other in due order and take a sip from each piniga, starting with the oldest member of the family. Generally it is easy for him to do this with the first ones, but frequently it is impossible for him to drink from the clay vessels of the last men in the rows. Their contents are then given him in the form of a clyster, the maikoa quantity being injected into his rectum by means of a tube (nángu) consisting of the hollow stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus). It is considered absolutely necessary, it should be understood, that the novice should receive something from the clay vessel of each man.

When the young man has finished drinking the oldest man says to him: 'Do you know now why you have drunk maikoa? 'Yes', the youth answers, 'it is in order that I may become a real man and a brave warrior and that I may be able to marry.'

When the effects of the narcotic manifest themselves in the Jibaro youth and he begins to behave in a foolish way or threatens to become violent, the old man seizes him by the arm, restrains him, and says to him: 'Don't you remember that you have taken

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Jivaro-2

maikoa, what do you intend to do, where are you going?' Then the youth tries to control himself and sits down.

After the lapse of some weeks or months the novice must again drink maikoa in the same way as before, some time later for the third time, and after the lapse of the same period for the fourth time. It is not until then that his noviciate ends and he is allowed to marry.

I have related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaros, and I have [242] now to add a few words as to the significance of the Kusúpani feast, especially as far as the tobacco rites are concerned. The significance of these rites is essentially the same as that of the tobacco ceremonies performed at the feast Noa tsangu. The spirit of tobacco is conjured and its wonderful power is transferred to the boy, who will be filled with it not only for the moment but for many years to come, nay, for his whole life. This power will automatically show itself in all the work and occupations incumbent on him as a male member of society. He will be a brave and successful warrior and be able to kill many enemies; he will be skilled in managing the lance and the blowgun and bring down much game in hunting; he will be dexterous in spearing the big fish and in catching small fish with varvasco poison. But this is not all. The spirits who appear to him in narcotic sleep are believed to teach him such matters also as normally concern directly

1: Karsten--241-242
116, 881, 276

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Jivaro-3

only the women, above all as regards the breeding of domestic animals and the cultivation of the fields. This also explains the fact that the newly-initiated Jibaro youth is for some time the adviser of the women in the work and occupations which properly belong entirely to the female domain. Just as the feast Noa tsangu and--as we shall presently see-- the great victory-feast, so the Kusúpani among other things is believed to have the effect of 'increasing the swine and the hens' (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu) and of favourably influencing the growth of the crops. "

1: Karsten--242
116, 881, 177, 276, 861

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Jivaro

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

1: Karsten--243-245
116, 512, 276

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Jivaro-1

"The Jibaros begin their day very early, about 3 o [sic] 4 o'clock in the morning, when the crowing cocks announce that a new day is dawning. The house-father is the first who gets up and wakens the other people in the house, especially the women. He arranges the logs forming the fireplace, and blows upon the embers so as to revive the fire. The first thing he does is to prepare his tobacco water. For this purpose he places a small clay pot (yukúnda), half-filled with water, on the fire and puts some tobacco leaves into it. After the water has boiled for a short while, it is allowed to cool somewhat and he then pours a little of its contents into the palm and draws it in through his nose, allowing it to flow out through the mouth. This is repeated three or four times. The tobacco medicine, taken in the early morning, is supposed to have a wonderful power of clearing the head and preserving from disease and witchcraft. Then follows a similar procedure with the guayusa solution. The leaves of this important tree, which grows wild everywhere in the Ecuadorian forests, are likewise boiled in water, and the decoction is appreciated as a tonic and as a purifying medicine. The Indian washes out his mouth with it and sometimes drinks a small quantity, throwing it up afterwards. While the tobacco or the guayusa is boiling, the house-father is generally seen doing some work. He may sit down at the distaff to spin for a short while, or at the loom to weave, or cut arrows, etc. [244]

Meanwhile he considers it is time for his house people to get up too. He shouts in a loud voice: tsaráwi, tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, nandákta, (i. e. 'it is dawning it is

1: Karsten--243-245
116, 512, 276

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Jivaro-2

dawning, get up, get up!'). These words are particularly addressed to the wives sleeping in the women's department, but at first they seem to pay no heed to them. After a while therefore the husband again repeats his tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, and later a third time. Gradually the women awake, get up, and start to work, their first task being to bring the house father his usual nihamáncchi (manioc-beer). Meanwhile the younger men in the house, the unmarried sons and the sons-in-law, have assembled at the fire-place and all drink the manioc-beer brought by the women. It is now about 6 o'clock in the morning.

At certain times, and especially if the family is threatened by enemies, the house-father, while he is cooking his tobacco water and guayusa, not only awakens his house-people but also delivers a sort of speech to them in which he reminds his sons and sons-in-law of the outrages committed by this and that enemy against the family in former times, and exhorts them to prepare for revenge. The essence of this speech, which is repeated for days and weeks in much the same form, will be related in the part dealing with the wars of the Indians.

About 8 o'clock the first meal of the day is taken. As a rule it consists of boiled manioc and boiled or roasted plantain, meat, or fish. This food is prepared by the women in the 'kitchen' (ekínturu) and is taken by them to the men's department, each kind of food on a special, big banana leaf. The leaves are placed on the floor and the

1: Karsten--243-245
116, 512, 276

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Jivaro-3

men sit down on small benches to eat. The men and women generally eat separately, the former in the big ante-room (tangámasha), the women and children in the women's department.

After the 'breakfast' the day's work begins. If the weather is fine, the men take their forest knives, lances, and blowguns and go out, some to hunt, others to work in the forest or in the fields; the majority of the women leave for the plantations carrying their baskets and their small babies on their backs. In the middle of the day therefore a Jibaro house is generally almost empty, some old man or woman and some of the bigger children being the only occupants. If a man has several wives, however, one of them as a rule stays at home to look after the house. --All stay away until about 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when they return one after the other, the men usually carrying with them some animal or birds which they have brought down with their blowguns, or fish [245] caught in the river, the women carrying heavy baskets full of manioc, sweet potatoes, and other fruits. It is not until at 4 or 5 o'clock that the second meal of the day is eaten. While out of doors the Jibaro has generally only drunk the manioc-beer he took with him in the form of fermented manioc substance wrapped in banana leaves.

If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc. Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a

1: Karsten--243-245

116, 512, 276

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Jivaro-4

rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterized as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros.

The Jibaros generally pass the evening conversing, drinking manioc-beer, and doing some unimportant work in the house by the light of the fires. After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night. Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

l: Karsten--260
116, 787, 276, 726

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Jivaro

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

1; Karsten--279

787, 276

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Jivaro

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arútama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself."

l: Karsten-- 280
116, 628, 302, 276

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Jivaro

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

l; Karsten--343-346
116, 727, 276

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Jivaro-1

"At about 8 o'clock the principal ceremony of the second day, the drinking of the sacred drink natéma takes place. When the drink is prepared for the feast the slayer himself has to assist in order to transfer to it the supernatural power with which he is believed to be invested.

For the preparation of the natéma some pieces of the stem of the vine are cut off, crushed with clubs, and parted into thinner fibres, which are boiled in water for a couple of hours. The fibres are then taken out and the drink is ready. The natéma drink, which has the effect of producing in the drinker peculiar visions and hallucinations which are ascribed by the Indians to certain spirits, is generally mixed with some tobacco water, by which its narcotic effects are increased. At the tsantsa feast the second day is regularly devoted to the drinking of the natéma, and it is prepared and drunk with certain ceremonies which have now to be described.

Some pieces of the stem of the natéma plant are laid on a banana leaf on the ground. Upon another banana leaf a large and a small wooden club are laid, and with these the natéma stems are to be crushed. There is besides a pot in which the drink will be cooked. The priest as usual gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the wrist and makes him seize a club with his right hand and a natéma stem with his left and crush the stem, laying it upon the other club. The slayer divides the stem into three or four fibres and puts them down into the pot, the priest holding

his hand. Another Indian without ceremony crushes some other pieces of the natéma stem and arranges them in a ring within the pot. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, now pours some water into the pot from a water bottle and places the pot on the fire, some other men attending to the pot while it boils. [344]

At another fire close by tobacco is simultaneously being boiled, to be mixed with the natéma. A small clay pot is placed by the fire, and some leaves of tobacco are laid on a banana leaf at the side of it. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes a tobacco leaf and carefully puts it, first on the edge of the pot and then into it. The wife of the slayer repeats the process with another leaf, laying it first on the edge of the pot and then inside it. Lastly, a third tobacco leaf is in the same way put into the pot by the daughter of the slayer. Thereupon the slayer, assisted by the priest, pours some water into the pot and places it on the fire.

On the spot where the natéma is cooked there is also placed a piece of the stem of the manioc plant and two narrow strips of the bark of a tree which the Jibaros call samiki. The slayer takes one of the strips, winds it round his index finger, and ties it into a ring of the same size as the finger. By means of one end of the strip which after the tying of the ring has been left free, he then attaches the ring to the piece of the manioc stem. Thereupon he in the same way makes another ring of the other strip, of the size of his index finger, and attaches it to the manioc stem at the side of the first ring. With

l: Karsten--343-346
116, 727, 276

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Jivaro-3

the aid of the priest he ultimately places the manioc stem, with the two rings attached to it, upon the tobacco pot boiling on the fire in such a way that it rests upon the edges of the pot.

The object of this ceremony is to establish a mysterious connection between the slayer, who, as we have seen, is supposed to be filled with supernatural power, the tobacco water to be mixed in the natéma drink, and the manioc plant which the persons drinking of the narcotic will see in the dream. The two rings formed of the rind of the samiki tree will in this connection serve as mediums for the transference of the power. The Jibaros ascribe magical virtues to the samiki tree itself, and a little of its bark is generally mixed with the natéma with a view to increasing the efficacy of the drink. The bast strips of the tree having been formed into rings of the same size as the slayer's finger, are believed to catch his power, and thus to transfer it to the manioc and the boiling tobacco pot. The persons partaking of the sacred drink are afterwards, in the narcotic sleep, supposed to see, among other things, the manioc fields of the slayer in a flourishing state and bearing a rich crop of fruit.

At the tsantsa feast the natéma is only boiled for about one hour, whereupon the pot is taken off the fire. Similarly the smaller pot in which tobacco has been cooked is taken away, the manioc stick with [345] the bast rings having first been removed. The latter is fixed in the wall close to the door, where it is left until it is dry and half

l; Karsten--343-346
116, 727, 276

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Jivaro-4

consumed, being then thrown away.

The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, seizes the small tobacco pot and pours its contents into the natéma pot. The drink is now ready to be consumed.

In the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast both men and women, even half-grown children, take part, all 'who want to dream' being allowed to drink of the narcotic. Even the slayer, as well as his wife and daughter, drink natéma. The drinking has throughout a ceremonial character. A number of beautifully ornamented clay dishes are placed on the ground in two rows. The priest and two or three other old men fill them with natéma and give them to the persons who are going to drink. Before they give the dish to a man or woman they each time sing a long conjuration over it, summoning the natéma spirits. The person who receives the dish quickly empties its contents, which amount to nearly half a litre. Immediately thereafter he or she goes out and throws up the quantity drunk (for the natéma at first has the effect of an emetic). Then the person again enters the house, again empties a pininga of natéma, which is given him by an old man with the same ceremony as before, and immediately again throws it up. The same process is repeated at third time. Each person who drinks natéma at the Tsantsa-feast thus has to empty three dishes of the sacred drink.

The persons who drink natéma have not previously eaten or drunk anything, and afterwards also they have to fast strictly until they have slept and dreamed. The majority of those who have drunk the narcotic leave the house and go out to sleep in some shelters

1; Karsten--343-346
116, 727, 276

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Jivaro-5

of palm leaves made in the forest at a short distance from the house. Most of these are men, but at least one of them ought to be a woman, a female relative of the slayer. The slayer and his wife and daughter, who also have drunk natéma, do not leave the house, but have their dreams inside. The dreamers remain in the forest sleeping until the afternoon. Then they take a bath in the river and return to the house, where they tell the older Indians what kind of dreams and visions they have had. Now they are also allowed to break their fast. Their food consists only of a dish of boiled and mashed manioc and boiled ripe bananas. The dreamer has to receive the dish containing this food from the hand of the same old man who in the morning had given him or her the natéma.

The object of the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast is to [346] ascertain whether everything will turn out favourably for the slayer in the future, whether he will have a long life, attain material prosperity and be lucky in his undertakings. The slayer, as well as his nearest relatives who have drunk natéma, will see in the dream his house surrounded by large and flourishing plantations of manioc and bananas; they will see his domestic animals, his swine and his hens, numerous and and [sic] fat, etc. But at the same time the persons who have drunk the sacred drink will be benefited themselves, being purified from impure and disease-bringing matter, and gaining

1: Karsten--343-346
116, 727, 276

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Jivaro-6

strength and ability for their respective work and occupations.

The drinking of the natéma in the morning is as usual followed by a general drinking-bout--in which, however, those persons who have drunk natéma do not take part--as well as by a general banquet, at which the flesh of the swine and chickens cooked during the night is eaten. With this banquet the official part of the morning's program is finished, and hosts and guests may pass the rest of the day until darkness as they like.

At about 6 o'clock in the evening the preparations for the night's dance commence, the host (i. e., the slayer) again going round in the house and inviting the guests to take part in it. All having properly dressed themselves, arranged their ornaments, and painted their faces, the Hantsēmáta begins and is continued through the whole night exactly in the same way as on the previous night. Even the wrestling of the boys takes place for a while. The dance is continued until about half past 5 in the morning, being as usual finished off by a general bath in the river."

1: Karsten--432-436
116, 276, 787

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Jivaro-1

"In previous chapters certain sacred narcotic drinks of the Jibaros have frequently been mentioned. Thus we have seen what an important part tobacco water plays for instance at the 'feast of the women', when it is supposed to communicate to the married women a wonderful power and ability for their various domestic occupations. The two narcotics known under the names of natéma and maikoa have also frequently been mentioned in connection with Indian divination. I have now to describe these sacred drinks more fully and to explain the religious ideas underlying their use.

The most interesting of these narcotics is no doubt the one which is called natéma by the Jibaros and aya huasca by the Quichua-speaking Indians. This is a poisonous vine, --containing an alcaloid, like the maikoa--the scientific name of which, according to the English botanist R. Spruce, is Banisteria caapi (1), of the family Malpighiaceae. The same traveller states that the plant also grows on the Rio Içanna, on the Uaupés and its affluents in north-west Brazil, as well as on the cataracts of the Orinoco,

"1. In Eastern Ecuador there seem to occur different species of the Banisteria. At any rate the Canelos Indians told me that they use three kinds of aya huasca which they distinguish as the puma aya huasca, the ahuiringri aya huasca, and the tunchi aya huasca. The last-mentioned is particularly used by the medicine-men (tunchi = the magical arrow)."

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Jivaro-2

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being used everywhere by the natives in the same way, for magical and divination purposes (2). In Ecuador the liana is best known under its Quichua name aya huasca ('the vine of the souls') (3); it is thus [433] called for instance by the Indians of the Napo, Curaray, Bobonaza, and Pastaza. The Jibaros call both the vine itself and the narcotic prepared from it natéma. The Secoyas on the Rio Aguarico and the savage Avishiris between Napo and Curaray also know the use of the plant. Similarly, the primitive Colorados and Cayapas in western Ecuador cultivate the aya huasca, using it as a magical medicine and for divination.

How the natéma drink is ceremonially prepared at the great feasts of the Jibaros has

ⁿ2. R. Spruce, Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes. London, 1908, II. 414 sqq., 423.

3. On the Napo I was assured that the natives call the vine in question haya huasca ('the bitter vine'), which answers to the fact that the drink prepared from it is exceedingly bitter in taste. On the other hand, at Canelos the form aya huasca seems to be the most common, and this name ('the vine of the souls') well accords with the ideas the Indians have about its power of summoning the souls or spirits of the dead."

been described before. Since the drink is exclusively used for religious or magical purposes its preparation is, of course, always more or less ceremonial. Still there are some differences in the details, depending on the different occasions for which the narcotic is used. The natéma, it should be noticed, occurs in two main forms, according as it is used by ordinary people for certain feasts, or by medicine-men and sorcerers when exercising their art.

The Jibaros, like the Canelos Indians, always prepare the natéma drink by boiling the vine. Some pieces of the lower thicker part of it are cut off, carefully washed, and crushed with clubs, so that they can easily be parted into thinner fibres. These are boiled in a pot with water, in ordinary cases only for one or two hours. Then the fibres are taken out and the drink is ready. It is of a brownish-green colour and has a very bitter taste. Usually some tobacco water is added and, in some cases, pieces of the rind of certain magical trees are put into the boiling pot in order to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

At the great feasts the natéma is taken in repeated doses and in comparatively large quantities. The effects appear comparatively slowly and are not very violent. The first effect of the drink is that of an emetic: a few minutes after a person has emptied the pininga offered by the leader of the ceremonies, he or she goes out and throws up the quantity consumed. In general, emetics play an important part in the medical

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116, 276, 787

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Jivaro-4

practices of the Jibaros and are supposed to have very beneficial effects. After a while, and having taken the medicine in repeated doses, the patient begins to tremble and feels giddy; the pulse gets slow and weak, [sic] the pupils of the eyes dilate. Lastly he falls asleep. Both before and during the sleep the Indian has strange perceptions and real hallucinations: he sees wonderful landscapes, different kinds of animals as well as people, all of which are guises in which the spirits, with whom he wants to enter into communication, appear to him.

With reference to the different occasions on which the Jibaros drink natéma, I have already mentioned the ceremonial natéma-drinking [434] at the 'feast of the dogs' and the great victory feast. At these feasts, however, comparatively little natéma is drunk. The Jibaros have also special natéma-feasts which last for several days-- among the tribes of the Pastaza up to eight days. All inhabitants of the house, even small children, take part in them. The boiling begins early in the morning and lasts till about noon. As usual, pieces of the rind of the tree chingiáta and samiki are added to the natéma-fibres. The drink is at first boiled in several smaller pots on different fires in the house. Later, when the liquid has boiled down, the different quantities are poured into one big earthen pot. Like the consuming of the sacred drink, its actual preparation is ceremonial. While the boiling goes on, and later during the drinking,

the great signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, is beaten in the slow regular time which is customary at the natéma-feasts. The Jibaros assert that in beating their drum they are imitating the demon (iguánchi), who in their belief has his abode in the hills and is himself beating his own tundúi. The drumming is supposed to please the demon, who will come to the place and fill, with his spirit, both the drink and the drinking Indians.

The drinking itself takes place with about the same ceremonies as at the victory feast. The person who has to drink empties a pininga which is offered him or her by one of the older Indians; he immediately throws up the quantity drunk, drinks again, and again throws it up. In this way considerable quantities are consumed during the natéma-days. The participants in the feast are bound to fast strictly, and are allowed to eat only after they have slept and had their dreams, their food then consisting of boiled and mashed manioc or boiled ripe bananas. This is repeated every day as long as the feast lasts.

The natéma-fibres which remain after the boiling is finished are always carefully guarded in a special place in the house and kept for a long time. The Jibaros allege that they do this only 'to know how much natéma they have drunk during the year'. Evidently even these remains of the wonderful vine are too sacred to be thrown away at once.

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Jivaro-6

If one asks the Indians why they drink natéma in this excessive way, their answer is usually: 'It is in order that the people may not die away'. By this kind of divination they try to find out what dangers are threatening the family, whether enemies are planning an attack against them, whether evil sorcerers are operating against them, whether they will be successful in their own undertakings, and so forth. The magical drink, which as we have seen has the effect of an emetic, [435] purifies the stomach from harmful substances and the magic arrows of wizards. For this reason the Indians always pay great attention to what they throw up after they have taken this medicine. At the same time both men and women are, by drinking natéma, made strong and clever for their different occupations and duties, the men for hunting, fishing, war, etc., the latter for agriculture, for the education of the children, for the care of the domestic animals, and for other domestic work incumbent on them.

Apart from these general drinking-bouts, the grown-up members of the Jibaro community, not only the men but also the women, frequently drink natéma on several particular occasions. This drinking-ceremony usually takes place in the house. An earthen pot (pininga) containing the sacred drink is placed on the earth; the Indian who has to drink takes stand in front of the pininga, and thereupon begins to move to and fro in a sort of dance, muttering an incantation without words. Suddenly he seizes the

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Jivaro-7

pininga and empties it in one draught. The next moment he throws up the whole quantity drunk. Meanwhile, the cup has again been filled with natéma. The Indian again approaches the cup, dances and mutters an incantation just as he did the first time, and empties the pininga at a draught. The effects of the drink are now beginning to show themselves. The Indian takes a stick in order to lean upon it when he gets intoxicated. He staggers to and fro on the earthen floor, mutters some unintelligible words to summon the spirits, he leans against the stick and again throws up the natéma drunk. The same thing is repeated for the third, fourth, fifth time and so on, until at last the man is wholly overcome by the narcotic and goes off into a deep sleep, filled with the usual visions and hallucinations.

The Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking natéma in all matters which are of particular importance to him. Since an elderly man, and especially a warrior, nearly always believes himself to be threatened by enemies, he tries above all, by this kind of divination, to find out whether he has any enemies, who they are, and whether in making an attack against them he will be victorious, gain rich spoil, etc. Similarly he consults the natéma-spirits in order to know whether a journey he intends to make will turn out well, whether his wives are faithful to him, whether he will be lucky with a new woman whom he intends to marry, whether strangers will arrive on a visit, and so forth.

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Jivaro-8

As we have seen, among the Jibaros even women are allowed to drink natéma. Thus, at the victory-feast, drinking the natéma on the [436] second day of the feast seems to be even obligatory on the nearest female relatives of the victor. It is also considered very important that the younger married women should take part in the general natéma-festivals, since in this way they will acquire the strength, skill, and insight necessary for their domestic occupations. During their dreams they get instruction by the spirits in these very matters. On these occasions, among other spirits, the mythical ancestress of the Jivaro culture, the Earth-mother Nungüi, appears to the woman, giving her advice and instruction with regard to the agriculture and consoling her in times of crop-failure and famine. In other matters which interest women she also receives the advice of the natéma-spirits. Thus, for instance, a widow who is looking for a new husband is in the habit of drinking natéma in order to be able to make a good choice.

The following instance, which tells us how a woman received the sacred stone nan-tára, gives us an idea of the revelations which the Jivaro women believe they have when intoxicated by natéma. Once, she told me, while she was still a girl, she was given natéma to drink. When she was well intoxicated, her grandmother came, seized her both hands, blew upon them and upon her arms, sprinkling juice of tobacco from her own mouth, and said to the girl: 'You will not die soon, you will have a long life and have much to eat. The stone which you wear in the hand will effect this'. In the same

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Jivaro-9

moment there came, as it were, a flash of lightning from the heaven and the girl heard the voice of the spirit which said to her: 'I am your ancestral mother (apachiru), I will give you this stone in order that you shall have a long life'. Thereupon the vision passed, and when the hands of the girl were opened in the light of day, a wonderful red stone, nantára, was found in them. The stone called nantára is consequently by the Jibaro women looked upon as a fetish which not only gives a house-mother a long life and success in all domestic tasks but especially promotes the growth of the crops. It is therefore used by the women in agriculture in the way we have seen before (p.128). "

1: Karsten--436-437
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Jivaro-1

"When medicine-men drink natéma in order to cure patients and to find out the cause of the illness, the drink is prepared in a somewhat different way. In this case the vines are boiled a whole day on a slow fire and the fluid is allowed to evaporate gradually so that ultimately only a very small but extremely concentrated quantity is left. Some fibres of the splitted stem as well as some leaves of another kind of vine which the Jibaros call íahi (probably Haemadictyon amazonicum) are put into [437] the pot with the natéma-fibres and boiled. The leaves are handled with a short ceremony. The medicine-man, or the Indian who prepares the drink, first takes four íahi-leaves and places them between the fingers of his left hand, arranges them in such a way that they form a cross, and puts them into the pot between the natéma-and the íahi-fibres with the right side down. Thereupon he takes four other íahi-leaves, arranges them between the fingers of the right hand and puts them in the same way into the pot upon the other leaves. Thus in all eight íahi-leaves have been added to the natéma- and íahi-fibres and boiled with them. The íahi vine, which is specially cultivated by the Jibaros, is also a narcotic and is supposed to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

While the fluid is gradually boiling down, the natéma-and íahi-fibres are taken out and carefully guarded. The remaining small quantity, a very strong decoction of a brownish-yellow colour and extremely bitter taste, is the natéma-medicine ready prepared.

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Jivaro-2

During the treatment of the patient the medicine-man takes natéma in small but repeated doses in the way described before. As we have seen in addition to natéma, tobacco water is also taken, the effect of both medicines being that the curer becomes gradually intoxicated or even attains a state of ecstasy, during which he enters into communication with the demons who have caused the sickness."

"The medicine-men of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians not only drink natéma (aya huasca) when they are curing sick persons, but also when they wish to bewitch their own enemies. On these occasions they are in the habit of painting the face, and especially the regions round the eyes, with the red colour obtained from the seeds of the bush Bixa orellana. On the head they wear a feather ornament composed of the red and yellow feathers of the tucan (called tawása, tawasámbe). They try to imitate the demons (iguánchi, supai) in their whole appearance, believing that thus they will be able to summon the spirits. The red face-painting is also supposed to protect them against the evil eye and the counter-witchcraft of enemy sorcerers. At the same time they play the peculiar string instrument called tsayandúru and turúmbe and the soft tunes of which are believed to please the demons. When the Indian has taken the sacred drink he sits down to play this instrument, by which the coming of the natéma-spirit is hastened. The Indians explained to me the meaning of these arrangements in the following words. 'The demons are adorned in the same way with facial paintings and feather crowns, and when they see us wearing the same ornaments as [438] they use themselves and hear the tunes of the instrument, they are pleased and put in appearance as our friends.' At Canelos the sorcerers also play this instrument when they take huántuc, the second great narcotic of the Indians."

"Equal in importance to the natéma (aya huasca) and still stronger in its effects is the narcotic which is called maikoa (maikoma) by the Jibaros and huántuc by the Canelos Indians. It is prepared from a shrub, the scientific name of which is Datura arborea of the family Solanaceae. Its poisonous properties may be compared with those of beladonna or opium, and even seem to surpass them. Insensibility, hallucinations, and even temporary madness seem to be the regular effects produced by this narcotic drug. The species Datura in Ecuador grows both in the tropical virgin forests and in the sub-tropical mountain regions, but there are at least two sub-species of it, D. arborea and D. stramonium. The beautiful bell-shaped flowers of the former sub-species are larger and nearly white in colour; of the latter smaller and of yellow-red colour. Both of them are equally poisonous. The half-civilised Indians of the Sierra, when they want to harm their enemies, practise nefarious magic by means of the flowers of the D. stramonium. It is the other sub-species which is used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The beautiful shrub is everywhere specially cultivated, and is usually found among other garden plants outside the houses.

In order to prepare the maikoa-drink, the Jibaro Indian scratches off some of the light green rind of the stem, and squeezes [sic] out the juice with the hand into a gourd until he gets the desired quantity, about a small drinking-glass full, (about 200 gr.). This is the dose which is taken at one time by one person and seems to be sufficient to

produce the effects desired.

Thus, ma'ikoa is not prepared by cooking like natéma, but simply consists of the juice contained in the rind. It is of a light green colour and not bitter to the taste like natéma, but rather insipid. Its effects, as already mentioned, are much stronger and show sooner than those of the other narcotic. Young people, when they take ma'ikoa for the first time, often become mad and strike out with weapons, sticks, and whatever they happen to get hold of, and may then become dangerous to those around. Therefore, when a Jibaro youth drinks ma'ikoa, some older [439] men are always present who watch his movements and sometimes even tie him down. The drugged man begins to talk confusedly and incoherently about all sorts of visions which he imagines he has, about spirits whom he fancies he meets, and at last falls into a deep, lethargic sleep, 'just as if he were dead' (hakáma).

Ma'ikoa is drunk by the Jibaros on much the same occasions as the natéma, and the revelations which they imagine they receive are much the same; yet to a still higher degree than the latter narcotic, ma'ikoa is the particular drink of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro Indian why he drinks ma'ikoa, his answer is usually: 'It is in order to see whether I shall kill my enemies' (shuāra mātinyu). The Jibaro warrior therefore never starts on a war expedition without previously consulting the spirits by drinking ma'ikoa. The same spirit tells him whether he is himself threatened by his enemies, whether he

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Jivaro-3

will have a long life, and so forth. Similarly in other important matters, although they have no particular reference to war, the Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking maíkoa.

The drinking ceremony takes place in the house, but the Indian prepares for it by taking tobacco water in repeated doses, and for this purpose he retires to the forest. In a remote place far from the habitations of men--sometimes the Indian has to walk one or two days to reach it--a shelter of palm leaves is constructed; it is the 'dreaming-hut', called ayámdai. It is much larger and made with greater care than the ordinary Indian shelter, and outside it there is an open place where the ground is carefully cleared and made level. On this open place the spirits appear dancing in all sorts of terrible shapes, and first of all come those powerful demons whom the Jibaros call arútama, 'the Old Ones', who give the sleeping Indian information and advice in the matters which interest him.

The 'dreaming-hut' is generally made in the neighbourhood of a waterfall where the water comes down from the high cliffs in the forest, forming a small pool below. In this pool the Indian takes a bath before and after the sleep.

The Jibaros are in the habit of retiring to the forest on these occasions because the arútama are supposed to appear to them more easily there. Generally the Indian who wants to dream remains away for three or four days. He may go alone, or he may go

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Jivaro-4

in company with other men. While on the way he has to fast strictly, but instead of food he takes tobacco water in repeated doses, through the nose. As soon as he reaches [440]the shelter, he first takes a bath, standing in the pool and allowing the streaming water to fall on his naked shoulders. The bath will prepare him favourably for the sleep and the revelations of the spirits. These spirits, it should be understood, are demons of the forest, but they are also present in the water of the cascades. After the bath the Indian goes to the hut, where in the evening he again prepares tobacco water, boiling the leaves in a small earthen pot which he has brought with him for the purpose. Having taken some of the medicine he falls in a deep sleep. In the following morning he again takes a bath in the pool. During the whole day he stays in the shelter, fasting strictly, a roasted plantain being his only food. On the other hand, he goes on taking tobacco water. Living in this way he spends a couple of days in the forest. On the fourth day, having taken his last bath in the waterfall, he returns home where he tells his dreams to the other Indians. It is only then that he takes maikoa, of which one dose alone, after his nervous sensibility has been enhanced by the tobacco-drinking and the fasting, will infallibly produce in him the usual strange physical and psychical effects.

The drinking of tobacco water in the forest on these occasions seems to play an almost more important part than the maikoa-drinking which takes place at home. As a

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Jivaro-5

matter of fact, the Jibaros generally enhance, by means of tobacco, the natural efficacy of the other narcotic drinks. Thus, tobacco water is also usually taken in preparation for natéma-drinking.

Since among the Jibaros the education of the boys chiefly aims at making them good warriors, maíkoa-drinking also occurs as a puberty ceremony. When, among the Jibaro tribes of the Upano and Santiago, boys reach the age of puberty, the feast called Kusúpani is held and the principal feature of it is tobacco-taking. On the fifth and last day the boy has to drink maíkoa. The details of this feast have been described before. Among the Pastaza tribes boys are initiated into manhood by maíkoa-drinking without previous tobacco ceremonies.

Maíkoa is moreover taken on the following occasions, as has appeared from my previous statements.

After the great victory feast has been brought to an end, the victor generally retires to the forest where he stays for some days taking maíkoa.

The making of the great signal drum, tundúi, is also celebrated by maíkoa-drinking in the way we have already seen.

The Jibaro man generally takes maíkoa after he has punished his [441] wife for infidelity. Again, boys who behave badly and are disobedient to their parents must drink maíkoa as a punishment, in the way related before.

Although maïkoa is particularly the drink of the warriors, it may also be consumed by women, just as is the case with natéma. This, however, seems to be a comparatively rare occurrence. On these occasions the ancestral spirits, the arútama, are supposed to appear to them, and especially the Earth-mother Nungüli. When appearing to women these spirits do not of course give them instruction and information about affairs of war, but about domestic work and occupations which concern the women, in the same way as when they drink natéma.

The above description refers particularly to the practices of the Jibaros, which are of special interest. The CANELOS INDIANS, who were once as warlike as their relatives and neighbours the Jibaros, formerly practised the drinking of huántuc on much the same occasions as these. Nowadays they no longer make war against their enemies. Still even to-day huántuc-drinking plays quite an important role in the practical religion of the Canelos Indians, but mainly in connection with their magic and witchcraft. Huántuc, like aya huasca, is therefore chiefly taken by medicine-men and sorcerers, partly when they are curing disease, partly when they are trying to harm their enemies by nefarious magic. On these occasions the sorcerer is adorned in the way described before, wearing red facial painting and a feather crown on the head. Before he empties the mucahua (clay dish) containing the sacred drink, he sings a long conjuration over it, invoking certain demons, and particularly the paccha supai, the

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Jivaro-7

demon of the cascades, inviting him to come to the place and to fill the drink and the sorcerer himself with his power. This incantation is called taquíshca. Afterwards, while waiting for the divine or demoniacal inspiration, he also plays the instrument turúmba in order to 'hurry on' the spirits."

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Jivaro

"As to the third narcotic, tobacco, it has frequently been mentioned in connection with the two other magical drinks, the natéma (aya huasca) and the maíkoa (huántuc). The importance which the Jibaros ascribe to tobacco is enormous; from this plant they prepare their most powerful and most indispensable medicine. Some Jibaros of our own days may also use tobacco as a means of enjoyment, but it is certain that they have learnt this from the whites. It is remarkable that the Indians only use the tobacco they have received from the whites in this way, [442] but never their own. The tobacco which the Jibaros themselves cultivate is used by them only for strictly ceremonial purposes. On the other hand, the Indians would never use the tobacco bought from the whites for their religious ceremonies; they distrust it in the same way as they distrust other articles received from their hereditary enemies. The Indian tobacco, badly cultivated as it is, is not particularly strong; but since it is consumed in great quantities, its effects are still powerful enough."

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Jivaro-1

"The Jibaros usually take tobacco in a liquid form, but in some cases they smoke it, making big cigars of the leaves. In the former case the leaves are either boiled in water, or chewed in the mouth and carefully mixed with saliva. When used at the great feasts the medicine is always prepared with saliva, which is supposed to enhance its supernatural effects. This medicine is prepared by an old man who conducts the ceremonies, and he has also to dispense it to the persons in whose honour the feast is held. The men on these occasions always receive the tobacco juice through the nose, the women again through the mouth.

After two or three doses the effects of the medicine are generally noticeable. The Indian turns pale and the whole body begins to tremble. After repeated doses giddiness and fainting-fits frequently occur, especially in women. At last the person in question becomes quite drugged and falls into a long sleep filled with peculiar dreams.

Tobacco is taken on the following occasions: first, as a universal remedy against disease and evils of any kind; secondly, as a prophylactic means of enhancing the magical power of the body, particularly to resist the evil spirits; and lastly, as a real narcotic to produce dreams. In all three cases the plant has a purely magical or religious significance.

When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect

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Jivaro-2

he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body. In all cases of general indisposition, of headache, catarrh, and other slight illnesses, the Jibaro Indian makes use of this wonderful remedy to remove the evil. Besides, tobacco is regarded as an excellent prophylactic against witchcraft. To protect themselves against evil influences the Jibaros not only take tobacco [443] juice as a medicine, but are also in the habit of painting their body with it. Thus at the victory-feast I noticed that some of the men painted all sorts of 'geometrical' figures on the face and breast with tobacco juice, a decoration which, of course, was hardly visible upon the brown skin of the Indians, but was evidently supposed to possess prophylactic power.

From my previous statements it appears that tobacco is ceremonially used on many different occasions. It is the particular medicine of sorcerers and medicine-men. It is indispensable at the great feasts, the feast of the women, called Noa tsangu (literally: 'the tobacco feast of the women'); the feast of the men, called Kusupani (literally: 'the tobacco-smoking feast'); and at the Einsupani, the great victory-feast of the Jibaros. On these occasions tobacco is in the first place used as a prophylactic against evil spirits and as a means of enhancing the natural power of resistance of the body; •

but in the second place it also serves the purpose of producing artificial sleep. On the other hand, there are cases when the medicine is exclusively taken as a narcotic in the latter sense. Just as the Indian take natima and maikoa 'in order to have dreams', so they drink tobacco water for the same purpose.

The procedure has already been described in connection with the custom of drinking maikoa, for which, as we found, the Indian generally prepares by drinking tobacco water. As usual, the Indians on these occasions retire to the forest where, sleeping in the 'dreaming-hut' (ayámdai) they can more easily enter into communication with the spirits. Among the Paotana-tribes the men remain in the forest for any period up to eight days. These are mostly younger people and as a rule several of them go out together. While on the way they fast strictly, taking, instead of food, tobacco water in repeated doses. For this purpose they rub the leaves between their hands and chew them, whereupon they spit out the stuff on a maize-leaf, mix in some more saliva and a little water, stirring it with their finger, and immediately take the medicine. This tobacco-diet is continued until they reach the dreaming-hut. This place, as already stated, is situated in the neighbourhood of a natural waterfall, where the Indians may take a bath before and after the sleep. Even here, while they receive the cold water upon their naked shoulders, they are still taking tobacco, mixing the chewed mass of tobacco with the water of the cascade and swallowing it. Thereafter they go to the hut

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Jivaro-4

where they pass the night. The following morning they tell their [444] dreams and visions to one another and discuss their possible significance. During the whole day, as usual, they only eat one roasted green plantain. This way of living is continued for every day of the time passed in the hut. When eight days have elapsed they return to their homes, very thin and weak on account of the strict fasting, but yet content if they have had favourable dreams.

The aim of this tobacco-drinking is the same as that of drinking natéma and maikoa. By submitting to this hard trial the Jibaro youths in the first place try to make themselves brave and successful warriors. They want to 'see their enemies' and to know whether they will be able to kill them, whether they themselves will have a long life, and so forth. Information about these matters is given them by those mysterious spirits which are called arútama and which always appear to the narcotized Indian, whether the medicine causing the supernatural state is tobacco, natéma, or maikoa."

"We now know the three powerful narcotics of the Jibaro Indians and the ways in which they are used. We have further to examine more closely the religious ideas which are connected with these narcotic drinks. The first question we have to answer is, what ideas the Indians have about dreams in general.

The 'belief in dreams', i. e. the belief that the experiences man has during his dreams are as real as the experiences he has when awake, has frequently been said to be a characteristic feature of the mentality of primitive peoples in general. This mode of expression, however, is not quite adequate in regard to the beliefs of the Indians with whom we are dealing; too little is expressed by it. The Jibaros as a matter of fact are of opinion that only in dreams is true reality revealed to man. Normal, conscious life is a delusion in which we can have no confidence; it is full of deception, falsehood, and lies. Only the dream unveils to us the real essence of things, 'the thing in itself'. In the dream all men whom we meet, even our foes, invariably tell us the truth, and all know more than when awake, for here it is the souls (wakáni, aya) that meet, freed from the bonds of the corporeal existence. Even the dead, who in ordinary cases only seldom show themselves to the living, appear to the Indian in dreams, warning and instructing him by virtue of the supernatural knowledge they possess. The same is true of the other spirits and demons, the iguánchi and supai, otherwise so greatly feared by the Indians: being under magical restraint they do the sleeping Indian

no harm, but on the [445] contrary act as his friends and advisers. Whoever therefore wants to know the real truth concerning the present time and especially concerning the future must sleep and have dreams, and since the sleep which nature by itself gives to man is not sufficient, it is necessary to produce it by artificial means.

Even the normal dreams are always believed by the Indians to have some prognostic significance. If, for instance, the Jibaro Indian dreams that he sees his enemies, fights with them and succeeds in killing them, he believes that in making war against them he will be victorious. If he dreams that he brings down many wild hogs, monkeys, and birds of the forest with his lance or his poisoned arrows, he is convinced that on the following day he will be lucky in hunting. If in the dream he meets strange Indians or white men, he is sure that such guests will soon arrive at his house. Similarly, if he dreams that in the forest or on the river some disaster happens to him, he interprets this as a bad omen and on the following day does not leave the house. An Indian on the Rio Upano once told me that during the preceeding night he had dreamt about a venomous snake which stung him in the forest. He had intended to go out hunting that day, but on account of the disagreeable dream he put it off and did not leave the house for three days. If he had gone out in the forest the following day, he said, he would certainly have been stung by a venomous snake.

However, those dreams are prophetic in the proper sense of the word which have been

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Jivaro-3

produced by drinking natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, for in such dreams the very spirits are, by conjuration, compelled to appear, who are able to give information about future events. These spirits are essentially the ancestors (apáchiru) of the sleeping Indian, who give their descendants advice and instruction. But on the other hand these spirits are also the souls (wakáni) of the narcotic plants themselves, with whom the Indian enters into intimate communion by consuming the drinks. It may, moreover, be added that the spirits which animate the natéma, the maikoa, and the tobacco are the souls of men; hence these drinks can only be prepared by the men, just as the corresponding plants can only be planted by the men.

The visions and other experiences which the Indians believe they have in the state of intoxication produced by natéma (aya huasca) and maikoa (huántuc) are in some

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Jivaro-4

details differently described by the Jibaros [446] and the Canelos Indians (1). The CAN-
ELOS INDIAN, narcotized by aya huasca, in the first place sees wonderful landscapes,
forests, hills, snow-clad volcanoes, lakes, rivers, or, more strictly speaking, the
spirits (supai) which inhabit all these localities; secondly, the dead (aya) in the shape
of skeletons; further, living people--Indians and white men, men and women--; finally,
all sorts of animals, tucans and other magical birds, jaguars, pumas, bears, venomous
snakes, and especially the giant serpent (amárun). All of these are demoniacal animals,

"1. As to the effects which the drinks prepared from the Banisteria caapi and Datura arborea produce upon a white man, I can only say that, living as I have mostly done, alone among the Indians I have not taken the risk of consuming them in larger quantities for the purpose of stating their mental and physiological effects. Still I have tasted both of them, finding the first exceedingly bitter, like quinine, and the second somewhat insipid and nauseous. White settlers at Canelos and Macas who have tried the aya huasca (natema) have told me that in the state of intoxication they have in part had the same experiences as the Indians, seeing wonderful landscapes, hills, and rivers, beautiful birds, etc. Those particular 'spirits', on the other hand, whom the Indians profess to see, do not of course present themselves to a person who does not share their religious ideas and superstitions."

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Jivaro-5

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116, 787, 276

mons (supai) appear to the Indians. Since the Canelos Indians or forms in wly of these demons, and particularly to the demons of the hills ascribe diseases (puma supai), and to venomous snakes, they appear especially (urcu supai). I've drunk aya huasca for the purpose of curing disease, and to medicine-men to extract the bewitching arrow (chunta), which they themselves they are compy of the patient. The spirits also speak to the sleeping Indian, have sent, froformation.

giving him advtions of the spirits in a state of intoxication is by the JIBAROS

To receive ch simply means 'to see'. The things which they 'see' are called wuimekeams produced by natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, only with a about the same shall presently indicate. Thus, to the Jibaro Indian also in small different landscapes, hills, rivers, and forests appear, since the spirits the first place, these localities (wakáni, iguánchi) are compelled to draw near, and demons in, although generally malignant, are those demons who inhabit the. Particularly Pindya iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers. These hills and cordi, ularly appear to the the [sic] medicine-men when curing disease. demons theref, dian for instance drinks a narcotic at some of the great feasts, Again, when a, special reference to his domestic and economic life; he sees his [447] his visio, s and fat, he sees his house surrounded by flourishing manioc swine and hen:

and plantain fields, and so forth. Further, the Indian sees all sorts of game, wild turkeys, tucans, parrots, wild pigs, agoutis, etc. When the sleeping Indian has such visions, it may happen that he suddenly starts up in excitement, points with his fingers at the birds and animals he fancies he sees, and exclaims: wuimekta, wuimekta, úmi surústa, úmi wakérahei, seása wakerahi, kúndinyaka túkusa yuohei, kuchi yuohei, atáshi yuohei, pákki yuohei, káyuka yuohei, etc. that is: 'Behold, behold! Give me a blowgun, I want a blowgun, I want arrow-poison, I am shooting game to eat it, I am eating pig's flesh, I am eating hen's flesh, I am eating the flesh of the hog, the flesh of the hare', etc. At such moments he must be held down on his bed by his comrades, but the fact that he has experiences of this kind is interpreted as a favourable omen by them: 'He has good visions, he has certainly seen the spirits'.

On the other hand, some Jibaro Indians at least say that when intoxicated by natéma or tobacco they see no human beings, who only appear to them after they have drunk maikoa. Among other spirits then appearing to them there are men, both Indians (Jibaros) and white men 'dressed in black clothes'. All these human apparitions are the ancestors (apachiru) of the sleeping Indian (for according to the tradition of the Jibaros even the whites have once been Jibaros), who give their descendants advice and instruction. The Jibaros call them maikoa eintseri, 'the maikoa-people'.

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Jivaro-7

With the maikoa-people come other spirits. Among these there are not only the nature spirits and animal demons mentioned above; even inanimate objects, like articles of clothing, implements, weapons, needles, etc. appear to the sleeper as animate and assume the shape of young Indians.

The most important, however, of all spirits are the mysterious demons which have already been introduced under the name of arútama, and who make their appearance partly in the shape of wild animals, partly as striking phenomena of nature, partly in other shapes. At any rate these demons always appear when, from the Indian point of view, the dream is favourable or 'good'.

When these spirits, and especially the maikoa cintseri and the arútama, appear to the young Jivaro, who has taken the narcotic drink for the first time, they say to him: 'You have drunk our blood, you are a [448] good man, you will live long and kill your enemies in battle. Your domestic animals, the swine and the hens, will multiply, your fields will flourish and give abundant fruit. Your changina (basket of plaited vines) will always be full, you will not become poor but lead a plentiful life'. In private affairs the spirits give him true information and directions. If, for instance, he intends to make war against a strange tribe, the spirits let him know before hand whether he will be successful or not. 'This or that enemy', they say, 'you will vanquish and bring his head to your home'; or: 'If you make war against that and that enemy you will have no success, but you will be killed yourself'. Similarly, if he wants to kill a sorcerer of

his own tribe who has bewitched one of his relatives with magic art the spirits tell him whether he will succeed in doing so or not.

The word arútama means 'the Old Ones'. These spirits, it should be understood, are the first ancestors of the Jibaros, and they were great warriors. Among the spirits there are, in the first place, two human apparitions. The first is called ikyáhinamchi. He is a Jibaro Indian, 'a red form enveloped in flames', and therefore not clearly visible. His voice, on the other hand, is distinctly heard. He calls out to the sleeping Indian, through his closed hand, certain words in the peculiar, staccato tone which is customary among the Jibaros when, in performing the Enéma, they ceremonially salute one another: wi--wikáhei--shuara --nikápsatahei--andúcta, that is: 'I go off (to the war), I will take (the heads of my enemies), listen!' The other human form is called mayéi, and he is also a Jibaro Indian. His name is derived from his custom of repeatedly calling out to the sleeper in a loud voice: mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, i. e. 'kill, kill!' To see or to hear the ikyáhinamchi or the mayéi in narcotic sleep is regarded as a good omen, for such a warrior will certainly be able to kill enemies.

Most of the arútama however, are animal demons. Among these there are in the first place the greatest and most dangerous beasts of prey which the Indian knows, first of all different species of the feline family: soacha, the great black jaguar, yambinga,

shia-shia, yantaa, different kinds of the great spotted jaguar, the lion or puma, hap-ayawara, different kinds of tiger cat, called amicha, yantana, undichama.

A powerful arútama is moreover the giant snake, Boa constrictor, and especially the water boa, called pangi or cuichi by the Jiharos. Besides the pangi, his 'brother' tsungi, another and probably purely mythical water monster, is revered as an arútama. Other water demons [449] of the same class are the great caiman or crocodile, kan-yátse, and the great otter, wangánimi, which is called by the Quichua-speaking Indians yacu puma, 'the water tiger'.

The bird demons are particularly numerous among the arútama. Among these are first of all the largest birds of prey, the great eagle or harpy, unta pinchu, the condor, yápu, and the owl, ambúsha; further, the demoniacal tucan, tsubanga, and another smaller bird of the tucan family called pininchi. The great macaw, the red one, takúmbi, and the yellow one, yambina, are also arútama; further, the common green parrot kavashu, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola), called sunga by the Jiharos, the pelican, kauk, and two other birds of the forest which I have not been able to identify and of which the first is called sicha in the Jivaro language, the other chacu.

The sleeping Indian only dimly perceives the monsters which appear to him in the dream as arútama, but he hears their voices when, each in its own way, they speak to him. He hears the roar of the jaguar, the mighty coughing of the wing-strokes of the

1: Karsten--444-451
116, 787, 276

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-10

great eagle, the terrible hissing of the giant snake, and so forth. The smaller animals and birds also appear in narcotic dreams in a somewhat different shape than in normal life: their dimensions are much larger, but the visionary only perceives them in part --of the birds, for instance, he only sees the head and the neck, but not the wings-- and all of them have the faculty of speech since, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors are incarnated in them.

Other arútama have the form of striking phenomena of nature. Among these there is the powerful hurricane (nássi) which frequently suddenly arises in tropical South America, passes through a limited area and causes great destruction in the virgin forest. Such hurricanes are always ascribed by the Indians to certain powerful demons (iguánchi), and the fact that these demons figure among the arútama makes it clear that they partake of the nature of ancestral souls. Other phenomena of nature which are explained in the same way, by the action of certain powerful spirits, are the lightning, chareimbi, the meteors and comets, payára, and the rainbow, tundyáka. These likewise appear to the Jibaro Indian in narcotic sleep and figure among the arútama.

Although in natural life these demons, or at least some of them, are regarded as being very malignant, they generally do the sleeping Indian no harm since they are under magical restraint or influence; on the contrary, as a rule they appear as his friends and advisers. Still [450] it may sometimes happen--as I was told by a Jibaro--that

An arútama wholly overpowers the dreamer and kills him on the spot. This idea seems to indicate that in exceptional cases the Indians may die from a too strong narcotic intoxication.

A practical consequence of the 'good' dreams is that if in real life the Jibaro warrior happens to meet for instance a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, or an eagle, he does not fear him and does not take to flight, but on the contrary is able to defy such a creature. He brandishes his lance, making threatening movements against him in the way customary among the Jibaros when they challenge their enemies, and calling out to him: 'You I know very well, for I have seen you in the dream. Come along, I do not fear you, I will kill you with my lance!' This is at the same time a proof to his comrades that he has really had 'good' dreams and has seen the arútama, and that he is a brave warrior. But if, on the contrary, a Jibaro, when meeting a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, an eagle, shows fear and takes to flight, this to his fellow-tribesmen is a proof that he has had bad dreams and would not make a good warrior, and that he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies.

In the same way, the Jibaro who has seen the arútama will not fear lightning, a rainbow, a falling meteor or a hurricane. On the contrary, even these enemies he boldly challenges with his lance and with words. In the dream he has, once for all, become acquainted with these phenomena, normally so terrible to the Indians; he knows

their true nature and has been hardened against them.

Among the arútama there are some other striking appearances. One is called uhúmuka: it is a human head cut off, which is seen wandering along the ground. The spirit says to the sleeping Indian: 'You will become a brave warrior, you will go far away on the war-path and kill your enemies'. Similarly, if the Jivaro wants to kill a sorcerer of his own tribe, the uhúmuka-demon tells him whether he will be successful or not. Another arútama appears as a human arm cut off which is seen to float in the air. If only the forearm with the hand is visible, the appearance is called wehánga; if the dreamer only sees the upper arm, it is called kunduána. If in the dream the Indian tries to seize this arm, it vanishes into the air. The wehánga or kunduána says to the dreamer: 'Take this arm; I am your ancestor, the arm of your forefathers (apáchiru). Do not fear, with this arm you will be strong and kill your enemies'. A third appearance of the same kind is the makuána: [451] this is a leg cut off. This arutama, too, speaks to the dreamer in the same way as the other spirits and gives him good fore-shadowings.

All these are what we have called 'good' dreams. We may ask, on the other hand, of what kind are the bad dreams. If the young Indian, during a narcotic sleep has no dreams at all, this is regarded as a bad omen. 'He is not a real man', is in that case the judgement of the oldest men of the tribe, 'he will become no warrior, and he will

not be able to kill any enemies'. If the Indian does not only sleep the whole night, but continues sleeping all the following day till sunset, this is also looked upon as a very serious omen. 'He will certainly [sic] not live long, he will soon sink into the earth like the sun'. If the arútama do not appear at all, if the young Jibaro has other kinds of visions or quite insignificant dreams, this is regarded as equally fatal. 'That youth will not live long, he will not kill any enemies, but he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies'. Such are the judgements which are most frequently passed on the 'bad' dreams by the old dream-interpreters.

Besides this, it is only natural that even the arútama and the maikoa eintseri sometimes give fore-shadowings which are unfavourable. If, for instance, the Jibaro warrior will soon fall a victim to the attacks of his enemies, the spirits may frankly tell him so beforehand. 'You will not live long, you will soon be killed by your enemies'. If he will perish through the magic arrow of a sorcerer or through some accident, the spirits may in the same way foretell it. It is characteristic of the demons who appear under the influence of the narcotic drinks that they always speak the absolute truth, just as they seem to possess actual knowledge.

It may also happen that the young Jibaro indeed sees the arútama, but in the very dream gets frightened at the sight of them and flees from them, so that he cannot be instructed by them or hardened against them. This, of course, is also a 'bad' dream.

1: Karsten--444-451

116, 787, 276

(1916-18) 1935

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Jivaro-14

I have so far mainly spoken of the ideas of the Jivaro Indians proper. As to the visions of the CANELOS INDIANS when drinking huántuc, I have still to add that on these occasions they do not pretend to see any animal demons or nature spirits. What then appears to them is only a white man dressed in black clothes. This being is called pasúca by the Canelos Indians, and he is the real huántuc-demon (huántuc supai). He takes the sleeping Indian through the air to a distant place, where he gives him the warnings and instructions desired."

"Among the Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festivities are held when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and science of smoking.* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member then makes an oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to be followed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the number of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, and the manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address delivered is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few puffs, the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disporting themselves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event."

*This story

was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Possi, who is a missionary amongst these Indians for some years."

"The Jivaros do not believe in a benign deity, but in a power which is spoken of by the Spaniards as el diablo, the devil. This being is not necessarily malicious in his attributes, but rather is considered to be a 'Super-Jivaro,' one powerful in all matters, omnipotent for good or evil but not loving evil for its own sake. When an important project is under consideration--a foray for wives or a long hunting trip into the territory of a hostile neighbor--the Jivaro deems it of the utmost importance that the 'devil' be consulted. For this purpose he retires to some secluded spot, let us say a small hill off in the jungle, and there drinks a quantity of a certain vegetable extract. This extract, made from the bark of a root, is a dark fluid [148] resembling coffee. It produces a narcotic effect upon the human system and the Jivaro passes into a stupor of several hours' duration, during which he experiences various weird hallucinations. One of these hallucinations is that the devil comes to him and gives advice regarding the proposed plan. If favorable views upon the matter are entertained by the devil, the project will be attempted. Consultation with the devil may be had by any man, for it is not the special province of any priestly class. I have spoken with white men who have sampled this narcotic drink and from the reports of its effects I judge the active principle of it must be some powerful alkaloid."

Besides chicha, the Jíbaro frequently use three vegetable infusions: those of guayusa and natema and the decoction of tobacco.

Guayusa is a plant of the Aquifoliaceae family and of the genus Ilex (1). In steeping the leaves give a tonic and stomachic beverage which replaces coffee and tea. But the Jíbaro also takes it every morning on an empty stomach upon getting up, and produces by a simple contraction of the diaphragm or even by putting his fingers in his throat, a veritable washing out of the stomach. Even the youngest children are accustomed to this strange habit and their mothers make them vomit by tickling their throats with a feather. It is therefore wrong to say, as certain explorers have claimed, that the infusion of guayusa has vomitive properties. It has no more than male. The purpose of this daily operation is to get rid of the material remaining in the stomach on awakening, the Jíbaro being convinced that it is injurious to the organism.

Natema (Danieteria caapi) is a vine which, on boiling in water for 24 hours, yields an infusion which when introduced into the stomach, deprives one of all feeling for three days, and provokes during this lethargy a profusion of dreams. The phase of insensibility is preceded by a period of excitation. We shall see later under what circumstances the savages have recourse to natema. The young men and children employ for the same

1. Obras de Fray Vicente Solano, Barcelona, 1892, vol. I, page 429.

purpose the infusion of maicoma (2) (kind of *Datura*?) which is less active.

The tobacco decoction is frequently used as a [593] remedy or in certain manifestations of religious nature of which I will speak later.

The Indian also has a passion for smoking as often as he can, but this is another vice that he acquired from the whites. In fact, he uses only the tobacco that they sell him, making his cigarettes with the aid of dry maize or banana leaves. He never makes use of a pipe.

2. Doubtless, the same narcotic that the Salesians call maiguá. 1 Jíbaros di Mendes e Gualaquiza. Equatore. Tipografia Salesiana. Turin, 1906, note 2 on page 4.

A superstitious practice observed at Macas, and perhaps generally, shows the importance the savage attaches to remaining always in a perfect state of training. Believing that when he has sold his blowgun to a white man he has lost the strength of his lungs, he submits to the follow operation in order to regain it: he takes a bamboo tube 20 to 25 cm. long and 2 1/2 cm. in diameter, stuffs it with tobacco, and lights it. A friend places the lighted end in his mouth and blows hard into the tube. The smoke which comes out in abundance from the other end is swallowed by the patient who, with his mouth wide open, is seated opposite the apparatus (fig. 21). [602] Soon the sufferer falls narcotized, with abundant vomiting and in a real state of prostration, but a few hours later, he feels well and thinks he has recovered the power of his breath.

The tobacco feast, so called because of the great quantity of the tobacco concoction which is consumed, is to ensure the fertility of the fields, the fattening and fecundity of the hogs. It is more solemn than the preceding ceremony, is attended by more guests, and requires a greater quantity of food and drink. It usually lasts three days, but the guests may stay as long as the food and drink hold out. Under the pretext of helping in the preparations of the feast, certain less scrupulous friends even come to stay with the one who is paying the expenses ten days before the celebration.

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)" (1).

Simson, according to Father Pozzi, reports that in Gualaquiza a ceremony takes place when a child of three or four years of age is initiated into the art of smoking. All the family being gathered together, the oldest member present makes a long discourse in

1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 52-53.

which he praises the courage of his ancestors and some members of the tribe, enumerates the number of enemies killed and expresses the hope that the representative of the new generation will imitate these noble examples. Finally, he puts a pipe into the hands of the young novice and after he has drawn on it a few times, all the assistants smoke gravely around him and begin to drink in order to celebrate the great event (2). This account is in complete opposition to my findings, according to which the Jívaros are not aware of the use of the pipe, and even Simson himself reports that an Indian from Canelos wished to try his pipe and was made as uncomfortable as a high-school boy at his first attempts.

2. Simson, op. cit., pages 388 and 393.

18: Hermessen--444-445

(No date) 1917

Jivaro

116, 137, 276

"Although wild cacao trees (Theobroma cacao) were abundant on the Zamora, the Jíbaros did not appear to have any practical knowledge of the alimentary value of the fruit, for there were many trees to be seen along the river with pods rotted on them. Rubber trees (probably Sapium verum, Hemsl.) were also common enough, and the latex, obtained in the [445] usual way by making incisions in the trunk, was utilized in various native articles."

25. Vigna--42 [2]
116, 273, 276, 484

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The principal drink, --which is also often eaten--and liquor, is the chicha of yuca, called "nijamanchi." The women who are in charge of its preparation, masticate the cooked yuca and spit it into special bowls where the mass ferments within a few hours. Its taste is similar to that of curdled milk. During the morning they take an infusion of "guayusa" - leaf of a tree that contains much caffeine and is a savory sedative. On journeys, the only food they carry is the chicha of concentrated yuca, which they take with water; they do not take any other food en route.

Tobacco (sángo) is taken in the form of juice: they let the leaves soak in water, and then drink the water or sip it through the nose. According to Karsten they have special earthenware glasses for this purpose.

In his Beiträge etc., pp. 56 ff. Karsten deals at great length with the tobacco and the ideas and customs connected with it. The original magic significance of tobacco is still apparent. As a pure stimulant tobacco is a new acquisition of the Chiwaros, which is proved by the fact that for this purpose the Indians use imported tobacco only. The men take the tobacco juice through the mouth or through the nose, the women through the mouth only. The Indians also smoke large cigars, which are placed in a bamboo holder. At a certain festival, when the boys reach the stage of manhood, smoke is blown into the mouths of the novices. This is, according to Karsten, the significance of the tobacco for the Chiwaros: 1) it is a panacea for all diseases, and 2) it is a means to increase the magic power; thirdly, it is an actual narcoticum which produces dreams.

There does not seem to be any coca, and Karsten does not talk about it either.

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tesson--353

116, 276, 757, 463

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, kaapi (natéma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (tsintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcerer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

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can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding sorcery, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam* *wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *wasani*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *wasu* *wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL

Arutam *wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul.

The term "*arutam*" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "*Wakani*" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the *arutam* *wakani* is the particular kind of soul which produces the *arutam* or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in evidence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists continually until it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possession of a single *arutam* soul cannot be lifted by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.² In other words, a person who has even only one *arutam* soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered as essential for them. One reason is that extra-tribal killings, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the predecessor of those souls which wander about as *wasani*, scattering the spray of the long cascades. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,³ and await the appearance of an *arutam* to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind falling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

Harner]

Jivaro Soul

The Soul-Grabbing or Sucking Ritual

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of curat (Rhamnus sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.⁷²

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—enter the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has lost his arutam and taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the fact-based observation that the enemy was talking in bewilderment of speech.⁷³ In any case, an attack is made only if the victim believes that the potential victim has lost his arutam—and if they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy will retain the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *bakawa* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest at night, without the usual illumination of a candle torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwell in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his own arutam soul comes into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

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Jivaro Souls

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- n English ng in sing (followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme)
 p Spanish p (voiced like English b when following a nasal consonant, labialized when pre-
 ceding e; palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant)
 r Spanish r
 s Spanish s
 3 English sh
 ts English ts in cats
 t Spanish t (voiced like Spanish d when following a nasal consonant; palatized when follow-
 ing e or i plus a nasal consonant)
 w English w (but voiced like English r when adjacent to i)
 y Spanish y

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of Natural History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Rio Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Hatura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delicious person under its influence.

* One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched.

* Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a rare super arutam, *awesag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

* The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

* Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muiska*.

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens.

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727 335 cont. /

796 better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made
[237] of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear
[301] richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of
[534] which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is
[535] produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

[349] When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept
[354] off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to
[342] decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

768 336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as
763 after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A
[242] small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

787 If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important
823 decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and
● [276] their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful
133 spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

[For additional information on the use of drugs for hallucinatory revelation, see 34: Harner, category 787.]

To assure success in hunting, young men (both married and unmarried) may join together in a small group under the supervision of an older master of ceremony (*wea*) to inhale tobacco smoke for a three-day period during which they alternate the smoke-inhalation sessions with hunting in the forest with blowguns. During the ritual sessions, called *kusupan*, the men take turns blowing tobacco smoke through guadua bamboo tubes into each other's lungs. It is believed that a man must entirely swallow the smoke he receives in order to be certain that he will not fail as a hunter.

A variety of fish and shellfish is present in streams and rivers, but swift currents and the small size of many water-courses seem to limit the degree of emphasis on their exploitation in many localities. Fishing roughly contributes perhaps only a little over 5 per cent of the total diet, significantly less than hunting. Corvina, suckers, and sheat-fish are taken from main streams and rivers, while crayfish and fresh-water crabs are gathered in the shallows.

Fishing techniques range from simply seizing fish by hand to complex river-poisoning operations. The fish that are caught bare-handed belong mostly to a species (*nayumpi*) capable of fastening itself to the underside of river boulders by means of a suction pad appendage. Hook-and-line fishing is done from a riverbank. Any handy stick is used for a pole, while an iron trade hook is baited with a piece of manioc, ripe plantain, or an earthworm.

A few men possess rectangular throw nets for catching medium-sized fish. A pair of fishermen, or a man and his wife, enter the shallows about ten feet apart. One tosses an end of the net to his companion with a circular motion. As the net is drawn to shore, balsa wood floats support its top edge, while stone sinkers keep it vertical in the water. Good-

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262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
 574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
 765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
 [231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

[146] At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.

231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
 [224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
 [241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A fam-
 ily without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much
 of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-

[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs
 against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end
 of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually
 results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to
 defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking in-
 dicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
 [825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for
 dog, *niawá*, is the same term used to designate the feared
 and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden,
 and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
 [789] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives ob-
 serves a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch
 to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is
 nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in
 adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its
 owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
 [276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic
Datura to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
 [439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
 parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously.

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apácaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves.

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemā* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135-43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again.

The child is given a name within a few days after being

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135-43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861
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The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsemtsemā* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsemtsemā* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276
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- 276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *u'ci auk* ("child swallow-
 774 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
 852 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
 778 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the
 787 house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day
 the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tse-*
tsema and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the
 adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and
 dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile,
 the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The
 same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

- 276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
 774 from the Jivaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
 778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
 787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
 [86] 135-39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is
 considered to compare in importance with the experience.
 The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in
 Jivaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since
 its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects
 of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and in-
 telligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the
 child.

- 462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
 857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
 868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
 [854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer
 in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep
 the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
 [356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the
 house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of
 refuse.

Post-puberty

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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865 boys perform most of the tasks of their fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

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[825] When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143-49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

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292 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 12-15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.

• [824]
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
 green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
 while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
 will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 296 •
 animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) 787
 or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
 are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
 normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ici*) eventually will [606]
 give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
 son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
 performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
 that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men oc-
 casionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases,
 the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and
 food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous fam-
 ily.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical re-
 lationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride)
 assuming direction of activities within the house. The second
 wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still,
 each wife has her own section of the garden which she ex-
 clusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels.
 Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
 unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casu-
 ally, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter
 marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant
 position over her daughter. The situation is usually more in-
 dividualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or
 mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to
 submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in
 household activities.

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall.
It emerges where the mountains become stone.
This waterfall will give me strength.

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I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The normal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

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Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hallucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hopefully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child misbehaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.

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- 276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
- 787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
- 701 leaders in Jivaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
- 756 and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jivaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jivaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekas wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam Soul

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular

776 kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*

778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from

761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other

[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
 A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
 cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious 761
 disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778 six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823 makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 787 travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or 776 spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824] the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276] tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276 water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787 return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

- 276 likely, though, is that before the five days are up, one of the
787 members of the party will have recourse to drinking hal-
lucinogenic *maitua* (*Datura arborea*) juice. Usually this is a
person who has failed to see an *arutam* on a previous vision
quest or who feels an urgent need to see one without delay.
- 276 *Maitua*, of which the Jivaro distinguish and use six dif-
ferent types, is recognized by them to be the most powerful
and also the most dangerous hallucinogen with which they
are familiar. In their pharmacopoeia, the hallucinogenic plants
with which they are acquainted are ranked thusly in terms of
their strength: (1) all six forms of *maikua*; (2) *natemā*, mixed
with *yabi* (see pp. 153-54), and *parápara*; (3) *tsentsemā*,
pirípiri, and *típura*. The last four remain to be botanically
identified with certainty.

The psychotropic potency of *Datura* and certain other plants of the Solanaceae is well known to Western pharmacology, their hallucinogenic properties being due primarily to their high content of hyoscyamine, atropine, and scopolamine.² Preparations from these plants tend to produce, in large dosages, a state of excitation, delirium, and hallucinations, followed by a state of narcosis.³

- 276 The Jivaro obtain their hallucinatory experiences with
787 *Datura* by ingesting the raw juice of the green bark of the
stems. The effects begin to be felt within about three to four
minutes of ingestion, probably because of the fast action of
the atropine. The *arutam* seeker ingesting the *Datura* juice is
never supposed to do it without the presence of an adult
who is not taking the drug. It is the responsibility of the latter
to provide psychological support or, in Jivaro terms, to
"encourage" him, and also to hold him down, if necessary,
during the first phase of the intoxication, when the drug
taker tends to become delirious and is in danger of running
off into the forest in his highly agitated state and, as a result,

possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.*

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have

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22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natchmä* (Rio Tutanangoza, 1964).

/p. 138-G/

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- 276 23. Snake *temisak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under
 755 the influence of *natemá*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to
 532 the experience (Rio Tutanagosa, 1964).
- 787 24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence
 of *natemá* as seen by another shaman who has also taken
 the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience.
 (Rio Tutanagosa, 1964).



definitely—steal the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
 feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
 derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gos-
 sip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his
arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in-
 dications, for example, would include rumors of physical [753]
 weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
 first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in force-
 fulness of speech.⁸ In any case, an attack is made only if the
 raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam*
 soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy
 still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the
 Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
 man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakarame*, or "powerful
 one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the pro-
 tection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would
 make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
 method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
 a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common tech-
 nique is to walk alone through the forest night after night,
 without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope
 of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276] •
 be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest moun-
 tain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Dawa* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
 in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
 soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
 intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the
 shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second
 one for him, since no one can possess more than two such
 souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
 164 diarrhea. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply
 181 "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
 771 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
 756 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
 • [276] view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
 specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will
 to help others to deal with the forces that influence and
 even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*uxilim*) are of two types: bewitchers
 276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
 787 Jivaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural
 [824] world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
 [756] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
 and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of
 the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighi-
 iaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine,
yatí, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*,
 to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the power-
 ful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahy-
 droharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine
 (DMT) (see Plate 22).¹⁸ These compounds have chemical
 structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD,
 mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psycho-
 tropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura
 arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the
 latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function
 ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social in-
 276 teraction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
 755 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
 787 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
 828 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this

THE HIDDEN WORLD

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776 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
 756 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
 778 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuni.
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757 Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen
 can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned,
 with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little
 developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
 776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
 756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies
 of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The
 spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman
 masters from attacks. The following account presents the
 ideology of Jivaro shamanism from the point of view of the
 shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
 778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken
 776 *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are
 • 276 contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain
 upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten
 days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jivaro believe they
 can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and
 regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak*
 periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice,
 apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual
 intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline,
 as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the
 end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
 756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
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to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*warwek*, or *yahauci urwisin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peper urwisin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer. [834]

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunci*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability. [755]

According to Jivaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

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- 778 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemä*.
 • 276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
 787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
 [776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
 [825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys,
 who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

- 754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemä* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
 276 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out
 778 of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

- 754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jivaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemā*, sees the
 776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
 • 276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
 787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole
 vulnerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has
 not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears
 to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
 778 darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
 825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsen-*
tsak, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing
 it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone
 manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda,
 which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to
 drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed
 snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his
 victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create
 jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
 778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
 276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
 [787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of
natemā, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at
 the point where its two main branches join. If his strength
 and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment
 the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is in-
 visible to an observer who is not under the influence of the
 hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable
 of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible,
 he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply
 of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for
 this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemā*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *pirípiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemā*, tobacco water, and *pirípiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

755 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have
778 sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which
755 he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their
778 supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the
• 276 influence of *natemä*, and he sees them as a variety of
787 zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his
776 shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the
patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemä*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemä* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

natemä, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakanī* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemä*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*paburi*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

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755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
 778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
 • 276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
 776 regularly, he must drink *natemä* for the same purpose and
 to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemä*, the curing
 787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
 [276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who
 lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows
 this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher,
 particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I
 attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had
 seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused
 the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pres-
 sure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to
 attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
 778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in
 754 power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts.
 Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can re-
 peatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other sha-
 mans, particularly *payü* (see pp. 119-20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom
 they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the
 shaman drinks *natemä*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a
 "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the
 other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow.
 This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an ex-
 plosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of
 this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily for-
 gets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus per-
 mitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

766 against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned
 774 house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is
 [778] erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small
 opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is
 inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in
 bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot,
 left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends hori-
 zontally out through the barrier.

766 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each
 774 about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each
 823 night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an
arutam soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is
 wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, with-
 out a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch
 the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts
 the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He
 • [276] then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he
 drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an
arutam for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the
 house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where
 he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated
 for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam*
 seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law
 of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relation-
 ship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several
 accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but
 in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back
 to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only
 two days and then buried in the usual manner, although
 there are cases where it has been left longer.

- 626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
 754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
 682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if
 • [276] one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanis-
 [787] tic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
 [628] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
 [721] and sets household against household. Under these circum-
 stances, Jivaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than de-
 creases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jivaro to be quite as pervasive
 [682] an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
 [278] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical vio-
 lence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person
 believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably inno-
 cent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and
 consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanc-
 tions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance
 of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have
 only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tran-
 quillity.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
 602 Jivaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
 593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved
 69 party, together with those relatives willing to support him,
 takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the per-
 son or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against
 him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the
 proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic
 matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in
 case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis
 in the present description will be on the general pattern of
 offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the
 norms.

178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
 774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
 778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
 [714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a
 wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this
 technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields
 as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
 firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
 become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
 uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
 have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
 Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, fami-
 lies tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for
 use by shamans when they come to cure family members
 believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
 775 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the
 774 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
 823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
 177 Tujurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few
 797 ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable
 to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
 682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
 754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of
 adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical vio-
 lence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced
 murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers
 of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form
 of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assas-
 sinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro